FREE INDIA

34th Year Of Publication February 11, 1973 ★ 20 Paise

SOUTH INDIAS FINEST PICTORIAL WEEKLY

President V. V. Giri inaugurating the ISCUS function in New Delhi held to mark the 25th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between India and USSR.

On April 4, 1972, A. N. Kosygin, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of USSR, received in the Kremlin Sardar Swaran Singh, India's Minister of External Affairs, who had arrived in Moscow for consultations on questions of bilateral relations in accordance with the Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Cooperation.

S. A. Shachkov, Chairman of State Committee of Council of Ministers of USSR for Foreign Economic Relations, and Mr. D. P. Dhar, India's Minister of Planning, signed, on September 19, 1972, an agreement on setting up the inter governmental Soviet Indian Commission on Economic, Scientific and Technical Gooperation.

One More Year Of Friendship

The year 1972 had brought India and the Soviet Union many radiant and happy days. In the entire history of relations between the two countries there were hardly so many happy coincidences of festivities and jubilees as tho celebrated befittingly Soviet and Indian peop in the past 12 mont Nearly all remarka events in the annals of t friendship of our tv countries took place wit a historically short per of time—25 years of inter-state relations.

The celebrations of t 25th anniversary of t establishment of Soviet Indian diplomatic relatic the 20th anniversary of Indo-Soviet Cultural ciety, the first annivers of the signing of the Tre of Peace, Friendship a Cooperation, which we held in the year of the 25th anniversary of India's independence, the 55th anniversary of the great October Socialist Revolution & the 50th anniversary of the formation of the USSR, were extensively covered in Indian and the Soviet press, over radio and TV. It is important to emphasise that the celebration of jubilees of historic events of one or the other country turned into demonstrations of ever-increasing friend

(Contd. on Third Cover)

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Economic Stalemate Is Result Of Social Parasitism

By Dr. P. C. JOSHI

THE continuing economic stalemate in India has been causing concern to all sections of Indian society. The most disquieting aspect of this stalemate has been the retreat from conscious social mobilisation for economic development.

There are no doubt certain accidental and transitory factors contributing to this stalemate. But at the root of it lie more basic causes which have eluded the political leadership and the planners. The most important of these is social parasitism which like a malignment growth corrodes the vitals of Indian society. It also thwarts any prospects of breaking this stalemate.

The awareness of social parasitism not only as a moral evil but as a serious bottleneck to national development is weak if not absent in the country. This is clear from the trend of discussions on the Fifth Five Year Plan. But to plan for economic growth with social justice without taking serious cognizance of social parasitism is nothing but economic or political romanticism. It is to ignore the very logic of modern economic development as shown by the economic history of developed nations. It also means failure to draw lessons from one's own past or recent history.

Social parasitism has been defined as "a mode of existence based on extraction of wealth from producers without assisting them in any way to produce it." In a parasitism stricken society it is not genuine producers of the national cake or those contributing to the increase in it who rule the roost. Property, status and power belong to parasites, that is to those who grab a larger and larger share of the cake through predation rather than through contribution to production. In fact, in a parasitic society there is a mushroom growth of classes appropriating a large share of the national cake without making any contribution to it. No wonder then that parasitism is invariably associated with economic backwardness. In contrast, in a growth oriented society everyone is concerned with enlargement of the national cake and is willing to contribute towards it. Property, status and power in such a society belong essentially to the producing classes rather than to the parasitic classes.

Transition from economic backwardness to growth, therefore, requires as a decisive condition a sharp break from parasitism This is also confirmed by the history of developed nations. Anti-parasitism in these countries was reflected first in the growth revulsion against the unproductive way of life and the awakening of concern for the producing classes. This concern was a basic ingredient of the cultural renaissance which marked the emergence of a modern consciousness; it was also the surest index of a genuine break with the past. Anti-parasitism no doubt began as a cultural process but it was incomplete without a shift of property and power from the unproductive to the producing classes.

Past history of many nations tells us that the best conditions of growth appeared only in those countries where this shift was effected in the most throughgoing manner. Where this shift was thwarted, econmic growth was also slowed down because of the influence of unproductive values and the continuing dissipation of wealth in the maintenance of unproductive classes.

In countries like India parasitism has deeper roots and wider remifications than in many other developing countries. India suffers from a double burden of long history and a colonial past. It has been aptly said that the more historic a nation, the greater the burden that it carries of unproductive values and of unproductive classes of those thriving as it were as "pensioners of economic history". India also carried the burden of a colonial past, during which period parasitism struck deeper roots in the Indian social structure. The overgrowth of unproductive sectors of the economy like trade, usury and landed property; the underdevelopment, even contraction, of

(Contd. on page 12)

GIRL GANGSTERS

"They kept screaming while two of them took my arms and one jabbed my back with what felt like a knife blade. They made me kneel down with the side of my face against the pavement, and they took everything I had. Then one of them took her foot and crushed my head against the pavement."

Just another mugging? Not quite. The Londoner who gave this story to the press said this was an all-girl gang. Reports in the British press were followed by items in TIME magazine and the West German STERN. describing in detail this new aspect of crime on the British Isles—female gangsterism. They carried photos of masked girl gangsters and their bloodstained victims.

TIME magazine from which the story above was quoted describes 17-year-old Brenda, a typical member of a gang, one of those operating in many districts of the British capital. Brenda is unemployed, and her true "work" begins at night when she puts on a wig and a mask and roams the streets with her gang. Their victims are invariably lone pedestrians.

According to police evidence, the number of gangsters of the fair sex is rapidly growing, and female crime is coming into vogue among the youth. Public protests have complled Scotland Yard to set up two special squads. The efforts of British "bobbies" have so far been of no avail: girl gangs are very elusive because, as TIME magazine says. "...they affect no distinctive style of dress or appearance". The magazine writes that even policemen are rather afraid of those youthful gangstresses most of whom are driven not so much by greed as by sadism. Many of them come from well-to-do families. There is a story of a young lady who used to go out every night chasing victims in her own car. Trevor Gibbens, forensic psychiatrist at the University of London, observed that in violence they have become the equals of professional thugs. "The girls are even tougher than the boys", said a judge at the Old Bailey.

Speculating on the causes of this dangerous "vogue" commentators refer to the emphasis on violence in the press, films and TV programmes. They unwillingly draw the conclusion that the chief cause of crime is the absence of ethical values, the moral degeneration of society.

The press quips sadly that crime in Britain is evidently the sphere in which sex equality is really becoming a thing of the past.

Secularism

Parliamentary Democracy in Retrospect

By Dr. P. B. GAJENDRAGADKAR

ARNOLD Toynbee has observed that the history of civilisation discloses an unceasing struggle between challenge and response. Every civilisation faces challenge from time to time and its survival and progress depend upon the effectiveness of its response. In this conflict between the challenge and the response, ideas serve as mighty weapons and they are represented by words or expressions, dynamic and revolutionary in character.

Unfortunately, history also shows that words, which are born to represent dynamic ideas' gradually tend to lose their significance by frequent ritualistic repetition, and beeome cliches without meaning, or empty symbols. I fear the same fate may overtake the revolutionary and dynamic idea of secularism in our country unless, progressive intellectuals make sustained efforts to expound to the Indian community its full significance and help, to make secularism a part of their individual and collective lives.

The concept of secularism in Western Europe differs radically from the Indian concept. The former is negative and basically anti-religion and anti-God. Marx described religion as a 'dope' or 'opium', and observed, that religion is the sigh of the oppressed creatures, the heart of heartless world, just as it is the spirit of a spiritless situation.

According to Roy, true spiritual freedom means not freedom to choose from amongst various religious doctrines, but freedom of the human spirit, from the tyranny of all of them. Freud was of the view that religion is comparable to a childhood neurosis, and one philosopher observed that the best service which religion can render to the community is to commit suicide. That, in substance, is the essence of the western concept of secularism.

Indian secularism, on the other hand, is not passive or negative, nor is it anti-God or anti-religion It recognises the relevance of religion, in human life, just as it recognises that many citizens may not feel the need of religion or belief in God.

The Indian Constitution has not used the word' secular' or 'secularism', because, the framers of the Constitution were anxious to avoid the introduction of the overtones of conflict, between religion and the State, which characterised the origin and growth of secularism in the Christain World.

CONCEPT OF SECULARISM

Nevertheless, the concept of secularism runs through the entire structure of the Indian Constitution, and the Indian Republic can legitimately claim to be secular in character. Articles 25 and 26 constitute the essence of the doctrine of Indian secularism. They guarantee to all religions practised in India fundamental freedom of conscience and free profession, practice and propogation of religion, as well as, the fundamental freedom to manage religious affairs.

These articles unambiguously show that though the Hindus constitute a very large majority in India, Hinduism is not the religion of the State. Indeed, so long as all religions practised in India function within their respective bounds, the Indian Republic is religiously neural towards them. All religions enjoy equal status, receive equal respect and are entitled to equal freedom.

This distinctive, tolerant feature of Indian secularism is based on the essential characteristic of Hindu philosophy—that all religions lead to God and no religion has the monopoly of truth. Hinduism believes that imperfect human reason cannot hope to comprehend the totality of spiritual truth:

Though truth is one, wise men describe it differently.

Significantly enough, Article 25 provides, that the freedom guaranteed by it is subject to public order, morality and health and to the other provisions of Part III. In other words, if there is a conflict between public order, morality, health, or other fundamental rights on the one hand, and religion on the other, the latter must yield to the former.

CITIZENSHIP—A SECULAR CONCEPT

Citizenship is a secular concept and the fundamental rights guaranteed to citizens and fundamental obligations flowing from citizenship cover all citizens alike irrespective of their religion Indian democracy is committed to the task of establishing political, social and economic justice and in achieving this task, it has to face several complex socio-economic and political issues. Indian secularism insists that in the discussion and decision of these issues religion has no relevance.

Secularism is a radical, forward-looking, progressive doctrine. It seeke to convert the traditional Indian community into a modern, open, free society. It must be confessed that even after 25 years of political freedom, by and large, the Indian community still leans on scrip tures rather than reason; looks backward rather than forward—and has not come to terms with modernism.

Secularism hopes to persuade the Indian community to adopt reason as its guide and experience as its friend in moulding its socio-economic structure based on justice—social, political and economic. Until such a new social order is created, seeularism is bound to remain an academic doctrine and can never become a reality in life.

The basic philosophy of secularism, that religion has no relevance in secular matters is well illustrated by Article 17 which abolishes untouchability. Article 44 of the Directive Principles is another shining example of the significance of secularism.

This article requires that the State shall endeavour to secure for the citizens a uniform Civil Code throughout the territory of India. The enactment of the Hindu Code emphasised the validity of the proposition that the personal law is a secular matter in which religious texts have no relevance and it must be founded on justice, equity and good conscience.

Unfortunately, the next step of reforming the Muslim Law, at least in regard to marriage and divorce, yet remains to be taken and until that step is taken and in course of time a common Civil Code is evolved, the important Directive Principle enshrined in Article 44 will remain unimplemented.

OBSCURANTISM SHOULD BE CONQUERED

I recognise that a hard core of a small section of the Muslim community is opposed to change their traditional personal law and sometimes even disputes the competence of Indian Legislature to legislate in regard to Muslim personal law. This attitude may harden if our Legislatures do not take early action to reform the Muslim personal law in regard to marriage and divorce as a first step.

Traditionalism is not the monopoly of the Muslim community, There are obscurantists amongst all Indian communities; such obscurantism can be conquered not by law, but by education. It is in this context that progressive ideas are mighty weapons and must be fully used by progressive intellectuals particularly amongst the Muslim community.

Law in general and personal law in particular should never lag behind public conscience and should not go very far ahead of it either. That is way it is of utmost importance that Muslim intellectuals must educate Muslim masses and strengthen the hands of all reformers so that the Indian Parliament can immediately take the salutary step of reforming the Muslim personal law.

This process cannot wait until all members of the Muslim community are converted to modernism. The growth of a strong, progressive Muslim public opinion is, however, necessary to facilitate suitable legislation in accordance with Article 44.

POSITIVE APPROACH OF SECULARISM

The approach of secularism can be illustrated by taking three typical cases. To the Hindu traditionalists who demand a total ban on slaughter of cows and all their progeny, to the Muslim traditionalists who oppose the reform of their personal law, and to the Catholic traditionalists who do not accept family planning, secularism, says, that scriptures as well as papal encyclical are irrelevant in the discussion and decision of these relevant issues.

Secularism and castes and sub-castes cannot go together and therefore, for the success of democracy and secularism, all intellectuals must start a relentless crusade to conquer the spirit of casteism and its narrow loyalties.

Listen to the eloquent words of Tagore about the brotherhood of man, the ideal of Secularism.

'Day and night, thy voice goes out from land to land,
Calling Hindus, Buddhists, Sikhs and Jains round thy throne, and Parsees, Mussalmans and Christians.
Offerings are brought to thy shrine by the East and the West to be woven in a Garland of love.
Thou bringest the hearts of all peoples into the harmony of one life,
Thou Dispenser of India's destiny,
Victory, Victory, Victory to thee'.

ON THE COVER

Russia is planning to start some new industries in India, mainly for the purpose of importing their products.

The projects started in India with Russian assistance are working satisfactorily.

The cover page shows oilmen from Ankaleshwar. See report on second Cover.

Antique Novelty

A department store in Tokyo has put a new commodity on sale: 2000-year-old Arctic ice from Greenland. It is being sold not as a museum piece or an item for laboratory analysis, but for whisky on the rocks. The price is 600 yen (£0 80) per kilogramme.

Quick Service

A big garment store in Cleveland (U.S A.) thought up a new way of attracting customers. It has put up a notice at the entrance saying people who have been held up and stripped need not worry because the store will outfit them in no time at all.

City Train Timings

With effect from Nov. 1

MADRAS CENTRAL

	Dep.	Arr.
Howrah Janata	8–40	19–15
Tatanagar Exp.	12–40	14–10
Howrah Mail	20–55	5–05
Circars Exp.	22–00	6–40
New Delhi Exp.	8–25	17–55
Hyderabad Exp.	13–35	10–15
Delhi Janata	15–10	15–55
New Delhi-Air-conditioned/Grand Trunk Express*	19–45	10–55
Dadar Express	10–00	17–15
Bombay Janata	13–40	14–00
Bombay Mail	21–50	5–15
Tirupati Exp.	7–00	21–40
Brindavan Exp.	8–10	19–05
Bangalore Exp.	12–45	15–20
Bangalore Mail	21–15	5–40
West Coast Exp.	12–25	14–45
Kerala Express	16–25	9–35
Mangalore Mail	20–20	7–00
Nilagiri Exp.	20–00	7–20
Cochin Mail	19–20	6–10
Gudur Pass.	8–45	22–50
Gudur Pass. (via Arkonam)	—	21–45
Vijayawada Pass.	15–20	12–40
Vijayawada Parcel Passenger	23–45	4–15
Raichur Pass.	9–25	20–10
Tirupati Pass.	17–00	9–45
Bangalore Pass.	6–05	21–00
Jolarpettai Pass.	11–20	14–20
Arkonam Pass.	18–10	—
Coimbatore Parcel Passenger	21–25	6–10

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Rock Fort Express	9–10	17–10
VirudunagarJanata	13–40	7–45
Rameswaram Exp.	19–30	8–05
Tiruchi Pass	6–45	12–05
Villupuram Pass.	15–55	12–05
Trivandrum Pass.	21–30	5–20
Madurai Parcel Passenger	22–25	4–50
Shencottah Pass.	—	21–10
(CHORD LINE)		
Trivandrum Exp.	8–10	18 10
Tirunelveli Exp.	18–15	8–35
Trivandrum Mail	20–30	7–15
Pandyan Exp.	20–10	6–40
Tuticorin Express	21–45	5–40
Rameswaram Passenger	11–00	16–25
MADRAS BEACH		
Chingleput Pass.	17–07	10–40
Kancheepuram Passenger	17–33	9–50
Kancheepuram Passenger *	18–12	9–18

*Will run on all days except on Sundays.

Sunday service will be observed only on Madras Beach-Tambaram Electrified suburban section.

Janata Express—Third Class only.

V. V. S. Aiyar-44

By R. A. PADMANABHAN

JAIL FOR NINE MONTHS

On Monday, 19th September, 1921, when judgment was delivered in the case against V.V.S. Aiyar in the "Desabhaktan Sedition Case", 'The Hindu, (being an evening paper) carried only a brief report to the following effect :

"His Worship (Mr. P.C. Lobo, Chief Presidency Magistrate) delivered judgment today at 11-30 A.M. in the case in which Mr. V.V.S. Aiyar stood charged under Section 124-A, I. P. C., in respect of a leading article published in the 'Desabhaktan' on the 6th May last. The Court Hall was crowded. The daughter, son and wife of Mr. V. V. S. Aiyar were present in the Hall. After the judgment was delivered and a sentence of nine months simple imprisonment was pronounced, Mr. V. V. S Aiyar was taken out of the Court. Near the police lock-up, Mrs. Aiyar and a large number of Hindu and Mahomedan friends (Khilafat and Congress workers) garlanded him. Mrs. Aiyar expressed her joy at her husband's going to jail for the noble services he rendered for the good of the country. His daughter prostrated before him saying that by his imprisonment the goal of Swaraj was nearer. Mr. V. V. S. Aiyar was taken in a motor car by the police amidst cries of 'Mahatma-Gandhi-ki-jai'."

The full text of the Judgment was given in "The Hindu" the next day, Tuesday, 20th September 1921. It read as follows:

Of the four accused against whom a complaint was filed on the 7th instant, accused Nos 1, 3 and 4 were discharged on the 17th instant in consequence of the withdrawal of the case against them. The complaint against V. V. S. Aiyar, the 2nd accused in the case, is that while he was one of the Joint Editors of the "Desabhaktan", a leading article of the nature described in Section 124-A I.P.C., under the heading "Repression" appeared in this paper on the 6th May, 1921. and that thereby he had committed an offence punishable under Section 124-A, I.P C. In his lengthy written statement, the 2nd accused alleges that the article is not seditious; that it was published at a time when he was not in Madras; that he was not the publisher thereof and that in fact he alone did the editorial work while in Madras both before and after the 19th February 1921 till the 15th August 1921. Thus the points arise for consideration, viz., the seditious character of the article and the liability of the 2nd accused for its publication.

2. In considering the seditious character of the article, what has to be primarily considered is the natural meaning of the language that is used. The wording of the article is so plain that I think it unnecessary to consider in any detail the eight articles, 2 poems and 2 letters appearing in the 'Desabhaktan" between the 31st January and the 4th June that have been filed in the case. The nature of the poems and letters would obviously be of very minor importance bearing on the question of intention; and as regards the articles themselves I may state in general that their tone is sometimes against the Government established law in British India and that sometimes an effort has been made to appeal to the judgment as opposed to the passions of the readers.

3. The thesis of the article 'Repression' is (1) that there is an indiscriminate use of repression, and (2) that such repression should be met by the basic doctrine of non-violence. In the article no distinction is sought to be made between the bureaucracy to which the orgy of repression is attributed and the Government and the only person that is referred to apart from the Government is the Viceroy, and that too in terms of doubtful import. The first paragraph gives the impression that the writer has not much faith in H. E. the Viceroy who was the repository of Justice and the writer impliedly condemns the attitude of silence attributed by himself of the Members of the Legislative Council. After thus condemning the attitude of the representatives of the people and the ability of H. E. the Viceroy to be just to Indian aspirations, the writer in the 2nd para, suggests a further doubt when he says that it is a matter for apprehension as to what further changes of form the reign of H. E. the Viceroy may by and by assume. It is after so preparing the mind of the reader that the writer proceeds to put forward the most important and indubitably seditious idea of the article: "for the very purpose of practising repression, they are keeping in readiness military forces and cannon at an expenditure of 63 crores of rupees." In the next para point is sought to be given to this idea by dwelling on the character of the Bureaucracy. This para opens with the improper suggestion that the Moderates are dubbed by the Bureaucrats as the representatives of the people and have been won over, so that foreign governments may not ridicule the acts of repression committed by the rulers. Reference is then made to the frightful things the writer thinks the Bureaucrats are likely to do on account of their arrogance and conceit. Now in soberness it must be admitted that there have been some among the higher officials who by their conduct have shown that they are sometimes swayed by a racial hauteur and it is obvious that this quality is likely to lead them to lose discrimination in the mode, applying blind repressive measures. But it was highly improper to make the sweeping assertions that have been made in the third para. The clear implication of the para is that when the Bureaucracy has brought about uncontrollable revolution and unrest in the whole country by the indiscriminate application of repressive measures, it will have recourse to military force by a short cut. This implied idea has been brought out in the 6th para, though only in the subjunctive mood. This idea is clearly calculated to create feeling of disaffection. The reference to General Dyer in the 7th and the last paras, is, I think, only retorical. The frightfulness of savagery usually attributed to that General is unfortunately a very convenient handle in a good many intemperate political discussions; but realising as I do the deep indignation caused by that act and similar acts, it would be wrong to fairly attribute to the Extremist who merely indulges in such rhetoric any other idea that that of indignation. In his opening case, the learned Public Prosecu or relied on the reference to General Dyer as "belonging to the fiendish race". After hearing what the accused had to say, the learned Crown Prosecutory very fairly was prepared to concede that the word "race" in the translation was not correct. The word "class" or "type" would, I think, signify the idea of the word "kulam" better. What is worth noting, however, is that the writer attributes to the Government the determination to spend 63 crores of rupees to save one Dyer even at the risk of losing India itself; and after putting the query, "What will not such a Government venture to do", the writer says that it is unnecessary to mention that we see the beginning of the dance of repression.

In reading the article as above, I have advisedly refrained from

(Contd. on page 10)

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FUN AND LAUGHTER

NOT HIS BUSINESS

The reveller came home with a wicked looking eye.

His wife was perturbed.

"Oh, dear!" she exclaimed. "How did you get that awful black eye?"

The man parked himself in a chair. "It's an odd story," he sighed "I was standing on a street corner, minding my own business, when a perfect stranger walked up and clipped me right on the eye.

"That's ridiculous," frowned his wife. "A perfect stranger walking up and giving you a black eye! Did you ask him why he did it?"

The husband shook his head. "Of course not," he returned. "Why should I butt into a stranger's business?"

* * *

REVELATION!

It was his first morning on a beat, and the young policeman was feeling very important. So when he had to reprimand a motorist he did so sternly.

"Didn't you see the traffic-light against you?"

"No, officer," said the motorist.

"Didn't you see me wave my hand?"

"I'm afraid I didn't "

"But you must have heard me blow my whistle?"

"I didn't."

The young policeman seemed downcast.

"I'd better go home," he said, sadly, "I'm a failure here."

* * *

LITTLE LAUGHS

"Before we were married you called me an angel. Now you don't call me anything at all."

"You should be glad I have such self-control."

* * *

Fortune Teller: "Do you want to know some hing about your future husband?"

Client: "No. I want to know something about the past of my present husband for future use."

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ALTERNATIVE

The young man brought his car to a stop in front of the cinema. He turned to the girl seated at his side.

"Well, honey," he said, "I've got ten bob What shall we do; Get a marriage licence and settle down—or go in and see this show?"

The girl appeared undecided. She got out of the car and studied the attraction advertised in front of the theatre. Finally she returned to her boy friend.

"No. Mickey Mouse," she sighed. "Let's get married!"

How Silly !

The young man wrapped his arms round the shapely blonde.

"My darling," he breathed, "you're all the world to me. I don't know what I'd do without you. I love—"

At that moment, the door-bell rang. The blonde jumped up. "It's my 'fiance'," she gasped. "You must leave at once. Oh, hurry! Please hurry!"

The young man looked round nervously. "But how am I going to leave?" he asked anxiously. "I can't go out by the door. Your 'fiance' would see me."

The blonde thought quickly. "Jump out of the window," she advised.

The young man turned white. "But, honey," he quivered, "we're on the thirteenth floor."

The blonde stamped her foot. "So what?" she rasped. "At this stage of the game, are you going to tell me you're superstitious?"

EXPERIENCED

A new warder was on duty at the prison and was conducting a prisoner to his cell. They came to a corner of the corridor, which owing to alterations being made, was rather dark, a screen being over the nearest window.

"Look out!" warned the official "There's a step here!"

"Cut your cackle, mate!" muttered the prisoner. "I knew that step before you were born."

* * *

NOT YET!

A small boy out with his mother was given a sixpence to put in the collecting box to help by a Spitfire.

The mother walked on, but missed the boy. Looking back, she noticed he was still, standing by the man with the box.

"Come along, hurry up," she called.

"Not yet," said the boy. "I haven't got my Spitfire yet."

HIS REMEDY

The strong man was explaining his act to an agent.

"I place a heavy stone on my head," he asserted, and then my assistant picks up a sixteen-pound sledge-hammer, swings it with all his might—and cracks the stone in half."

The agent grew dizzy at the very thought.

"That's marvellous," he enthused. "But how about your head—don't you ever feel it.?"

The strong man waved a hand "Yes," he admitted. "That's why I sometimes carry aspirins!"

* * *

OFFICIAL SECRET!

The local train was just being shunted into the siding after its last run for the night. Suddenly an Army officer appeared.

"Get that train ready to take a party of troops at once," he commanded.

"Where to, sir?" asked the stationmaster.

"Official secret!" snapped the officer. "I can't tell you, of course."

"Then, sir, perhaps you can tell me to which end of the train I must attach the officially uniformed engine?"

* * *

DEPUTY'S WORK

The film magnate wanted one of his stars to accept a reduction in salary, so he said to his junior partner: "You tackle him, Paul. "You're better educated than what I am. You can give him a better line of talk than me."

Paul went off on his disagreeable job. When he came back, the magnate asked anxiously. : "Well, how about it?"

"He acquiesced," said Paul.

"Did he? The dirty dog."

* * *

CAME TRUE

After a heated argument Mrs. Brown had succeeded in persuading her husband to allow their daughter to go to a boarding-school. After a few weeks the girl wrote home and said, "I'm awfully keen on ping-pong."

"What did I say!" exclaimed Mr. Brown. "I knew it would come to no good; now she's fallen in love with a Chinese."

* * *

FISHY

Said the young clergyman to his Bishop: "May it please your lordship. I want permission to get married."

"And a very good idea too, Who's the young lady? Can I approve?"

"Well, she's only a fishmonger's daughter, but—"

"That'll do. I've heard that one."

Too Important

The old lady leaned out of the carriage window, called guard, and said, "Guard, does this train stop at Rugby?"

"Yes, madam."

"Well. will you tell me when we get to Rugby?"

"Yes, madam."

Then she turned to another traveller and said; "Will you know when we get to Rugby?"

"Yes madam."

"Will you be sure and tell me when we get there?"

"Anything to oblige madam."

When the train stopped at the next station she called the guard and told him to be sure and remind her when the train reached Rugby.

This happened about every twenty minutes.

In the end, the train reached Rugby, and a passenger told her she'd arrived. Just then the guard rushed up and said. "This is where you get out madam."

"Oh, no," she said. "If this is Rugby it must be twelve o'clock and that's I have to take my medicine."

THE DIFFICULTY

He was very angry at being kept waiting at the station.

"So you had difficulty in finding me, eh?" he protested to the chauffeur. "Didn't your master describe me."

"Yes, sir" the chauffeur replied, "but there are so many baldheaded old suffers with red noses!"

* * *

TIME'LL TELL

A little boy in an American school refused to sew, thinking it beneath the dignity of a ten-year-old.

"George Washington sewed," said the principal, "and do you consider yourself better than George Washington?"

"I don't know; time will tell," said the boy, seriously.

* * *

MEDICAL ADVICE

Doctor: "Nothing but an operation will save your life."

Patient: "And how much will an operation cost?"

Doctor: "About five hundred dollars."

Patient: "But I've only one hundred dollars."

Doctor: "In that case let us see what pills will do."

* * *

Bishop: "I suppose you first learned right from wrong at your mother's knee?"

Candidate for Ministry: "No, across my father's."

* * *

A rich man must hire a valet, a laundress, a secretary, a cook and a housekeeper—.

The poor man just gets married,

* * *

"What's your favourite dish?"

"A clean one."

Casteism : Anachronism In New India

R. RADHAKRISHNAN

THE year 1972 brought out notable exhortations from three prominent leaders of India on the issue of casteism.

While speaking in connection with this year's independent day celebrations at Madras, Defence Minister Jagjivan Ram proclaimed that India's greatest enemy was casteism and that it was more dangerous to the progress of the nation than any foreign enemy. He asked the people to make the caste system an outcast in this country.

Later, Tamil Nadu Governor K. K. Shah exhorted the people to take a vow in the silver jubilee year of Independence that they should not allow themselves to be divided on the basis of caste and sub-castes.

Now Smt Indira Gandhi has appealed to the entire nation—all parties and all sections of the community—to give up the old rotten castebased attitudes and practices, cultivate a new outlook and create a new climate to give meaning to their resolve to fashion a new future which provides equal opportunity for all, even for those who had been left behind.

In fact, all these twenty-five years the people of this country have been listening to such words filled with condemnation of the caste system by various political leaders, social thinkers and educationists. Unfortunately, those words were later found to have vanished in thin air and reduced to nothingness, without making any flutter in society. Every time it is observed that this octopus-like monster called "caste" is becoming more powerful and its grip on society more and more tight.

Once Jawaharlal Nehru remarked; "It is curious and significant that throughout the long span of Indian history there have been repeated warnings given by great men against priestcraft and the rigidity of the caste system, and powerful movements have risen against them. Yet, slowly, unperceptibly almost, it seems, as if it were inevitable course of destiny, caste has grown and spread and seized every aspect of Indian life in its strangling grip. Rebels against caste have drawn many followers and yet in course of time their group itself become a caste."

Since we have already passed a quarter century of self-rule, it seems quite appropriate to make a deep study on the present position of casteism?

What is casteism?

The term "caste" is originated from a Latin word, "castus," meaning "pure". The term was loosely used by the Portuguese to denote the Indian social classification meaning "breed" and "kind" which they observed among the Hindus when they first arrived in India. It became a synnonym for "jati" or "jat". It is exclusively an Indian pheno menon.

The *Encyclopeadia Brittanica* says: "No term in the literature of Social Science has been so misused or mi interpreted as 'caste' (Indian), indeed it is arguable that the ambiguity of the term itself has been a major reason for the difficulty in reaching a clear understanding of the system it describes"

In olden days, the term "caste" represented an endogamous group, bearing a common name, the membership of which was hereditary arising from birth alone, imposing on its members certain restrictions in the matter of social intercourse either following common traditional occupation or claiming a common origin or both, and generally regarded as forming a single human community.

So, in general, it can be concluded that the profession and the birth were the vital factors in fixing the "caste" of a person in the past. In the present context of the modern society, the term 'caste' has got no social, occupational, jural or status entity. It is only a myth, not a reality.

Now it is a very difficult task for any social thinker or political philosopher to put this word in the tight framework of a definition. A scientific approach to this system or, rather institution, would reveal the hollowness of the same. Logically it cannot be tackled. Socially it is an anachronism for the modern Indian society. Social reformers and philosophers opine that this

(*Contd. on page* 8)

THUS SPAKE THE MAHATMA

A struggle which has to be previously planned is not a righteous struggle. In a righteous struggle, God himself plans campaigns and conducts battles.

ASOKA SCENTED BETELNUT POWDER

Free India

SUNDAY Feb. 11, 1973.

Fantastic

A sch me for creating five lakh j bs for the educated unemployed in the last year of the fourth plan (1973–74) at a cost of Rs. 100 crores has been envisag d.

Necessary budget provision is being made for the new employment scheme, says a New Delhi report.

The main basis for any developm nt activity is the generation of adequate electricity.

All our plans seem to have to come to a standstill with power cut in almost all states. Many industries stand crippled. Even the employed are laid off. With little production, costs go up. With increasing unemployment, the purchasing p wer of the people is much reduced. There is misery all-round in tune with the darkness due to power failure.

Steps for power generation must have been taken on a war footing. Nothing like that seems to be in the offing. Ministers are offering leisurely excuses for the failure. Labour is demanding lifting of power, as though it can be done by governmental fiat.

Government thinking is fantastic not only in this. After enforcing a ceiling on farmlands, they want to introduce tax on agricultural income!

Freedom Of Expression : Parliamentary Democracy In Retrospect

By M. CHALAPATHI RAU

FREEDOM of expression is among the fundamental freedoms in all democratic countries. It is the largest of the freedoms because it includes a wide range of expression through every med um, a word spoken, a word written or printed, blob of paint, lines of drawing or physical gestures. It includes freedom of speech, freedom of the press and so on.

The right to freedom of expression or other freedoms was usually recognised in all bills of rights. But absol te freedom in absolute non-sense, and there is need for legitimate limits to it, for others also must enjoy that freedom. The question that should be asked in the exercise of freedom, particularly freedom of expression, is: freedom for whom, freedom for what?

In In ia, the right to freedom of expression does not arise m rely because it is enumerated among the Fundamental Rights in the Constitution. For long years, the Indian people, like peoples elsewhere, had to fight for freedom of expression; as for other freedom, what was recognised in the Constitut on was what had been won and recognised.

INDIA FOR PARLIAMENTARY DEMOCRACY

India adopted parliamentary democracy under conditions of adult suffrage and mass illiteracy but with strong faith in it. It is a refined form of democracy but has been working successfully. It permits dissent and opposition and the existence of many pa ties. Such a system requires a large degree of tolerance. Without freedom of expression, parliamentary democracy, or any democracy, cannot work.

There are limits to the exercise of the right; some of the limits were laid down by amendment in 1951. The law now limits it in the interest of the sovereignty and integrity of India, the security of the state, friendly relations with foreign States, public order, decency or morality or in relation to contemp s of court or incitement to an offence.

Decency and morality, which are matters more of taste than of law, concern even works of art, the paintings of a Picasso, the sculptures of an Epstein, or the novels of a Henry Miller. Exercise of freedon cannot be allowed to destroy the basic foundations of a democratic order or to impinge on the freedom of others, especially in a country of many religions and many communities.

Abraham Lincoln legitimately asked the question: must a government, of necessity be too strong for the liberties of its own-people or too weak to maintain its own existence?

Freedom of expression is subject to reasonable restrictions but it cannot be easily contained. The test of civil liberties is political liberty, more especially the liberty of the opposition. There is thus the political aspect of freedom of expression, and it is not confined to freedom of the press. It would be odd if scurrility in the press, for instance, were pu ished but not scurrility in a book.

Public men who are of standing and who are popular can propagate their ideas by addressing public meetings more than newspapers, in spite of their circulation, can do. The press in India, following the British concept of freedom of the press, has not claimed more than the liberty of the citizen, and has been opposed to special legislation as far as expression is concerned.

CHANGING RESTRAINTS AND CONCEPTS

The history of freedom shows that changing restraints have fashioned changing concepts. Freedom had to be fought for in the old days of the absolutism of the state or of the church. It was the result of a struggle for expression of ideas which were opposed to the existing religious, political or economic order. Not every intellectual was on the side of freedom.

Socrates wanted the supremacy of the individual conscience and insisted on the public value of free discussion, but Plato's ideas amounted to a demand for regimentation of thought. After the Reformation, rival sects persecuted each other and what was orthodox one day became heterodox the next. People went to the stake for freedom of exp ession, for propagation of faith.

The con est between philosophic truth and accepted faith took a political turn in countries like Britain with the growing participation of a wider public in Government. After Papal prohibitions, Star Chambers, punishment of blasphemy by eccelesiastical courts, censorship came into vague.

CHAMPIONS OF FREEDOM OF SPEECH

The eighteenth century saw the rise of successive champions of freedom of speech and of the press. Milton, Voltaire, Wilkes and Paine were the leading fighters and they had a ready reception in the American colonies which were beco ning ripe for the American Revolution. "Give me liberty or give me death", said Patrick Henry, one of the pioneers of American freedom. Political freedom was known to be the only way to secure freedom of expression.

In fighting for "Life, Liberty and the Pursuit of Happiness", the Founding Fathers of the U.S Constitution almost forgot to make freedom of expression secure but recognised it early by the first amendment to the Constitution. Men like Jefferson knew the history of censorship and intellectual tyranny and were afraid that Congress, in the exercise of its undoubted authority over other mattets, might set up a censor, suppress newspapers and punish critics.

On the other side Hamilton thought little of the proposition, which he considered useless. Whatever declarations on the subject might be inserted in the Constitution, he said, freedom would depend altogether on "public opinion and on the general spirit of the people and of the Government". If people believed in liberty, they would have it; if they did not, guarantees would not matter.

The famous British historian, Lord Acton, wanted to write a "History of Liberty"; he left behind only fragments. But his view of freedom is shared even now. He thought that political rights proceeded direct from religious duties.

For him, conscience was the fount of freedom and its claim superior to that of the state. If democracy could not restrain itself, liberty would be lost. He found threats to liberty even in democracy, particularly in socialism. The nation is responsible to Heaven for the acts of the State, he said. The test of a country's freedom was the amount of security enjoyed by minorities.

In his judgement of politics as of history, morality was a matter of life and death, Hamilton would have agreed with him; the late Rajagopalachari did. It is difficult for such thinkers to believe that there can be no democracy without socialism and no socialism without democracy or that in socialism the individual's rights can be reconciled with rights of the community.

India is one of the freest of countries by the test of freedom of expression. Tolerance is general; intolerance is rare. The law of libel needs change and the law of contempt is outdated. But there has been little need to use the law of sedition or to curtail freedom of expression. There are no prosecutions under the Official Secrets Act. Freedom has been exercised more than it has been punished.

The question in developing societies like India, however, is how with freedom of expression a competition in free ideas can be maintained. It is not always a struggle between the individual and the state but often between the individual and some vested interests. The freedom of which Milton sang and for which Wilkes fought may come

(Contd. on page 12)

AEROFLOT—AIR INDIA COOPERATION

LAST week witnessed the Golden Jubilee of the "Aeroflot" the international airline of the USSR.

The 'Aeroflot' is the biggest air travel enterprise. It promotes fraternal contacts between different countries. It connects, with the help of its liners 66 countries all over the world and the most modern types of planes are used on international lines.

'Aeroflot' is cooperating with Air-India also. As a result, close and friendly contacts have been established between the two companies. 'Aeroflot' has two flights in Calcutta, one east bound and the other west bound. The route of the east bound flight is Moscow — Tashkent — Bombay — Calcutta — Rangoon — Vientiane — Hanoi and that of the west bound flights is Hanoi — Vientaine — Rangoon — Calcutta — Bombay — Tashkent — Moscow.

During the one and a half years of this cooperation there has never been a single case of a Soviet plane delaying due to bad ground servicing. It is a unique example of friendly cooperation with 'Air India'.

'Aeroflot' occupies a very important place in Soviet economy. In 1962 it carried more than 18 million passengers and about 2 million cargoes and mails. It meets the requirements of agriculture also in various ways.

The supersonic airliner "TU-144" is expected to be introduced in the long-distance flight routing Moscow — Calcutta — Sydney in the near future.

* * x

WILL THE LESSON BE LEARNT?

Now that the tangle in Vietnam has been solved, political observers in Moscow have started asking whether the lessons of the Vietnam war will help solve the West Asian crisis. When I met the leading Soviet Political Commentator Mr. Vladimir Kudryavtsev at the Journalists Union the other day, our conversation naturally turned to this subject and he felt that it would be sensible and realistic if the US which is particularly involved in this conflict would learn a lesson from the events in South-East Asia. He went on:

"The Israeli aggressors, no matter what brutalities they may resort to, will have to return, sooner or later, to the provisions in the November 22, 1967 Security Council Resolution, just as the aggressors in South-East Asia were forced to go back to the principles of the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Vietnam.

"Israel's isolation is mounting and the African states started severing their connections with it one after another after the subversive Israeli activities in Uganda came to light. This has happened not only because they denounced Israel as an aggressor, but also because, Israel acts in Africa as an agent of US imperialism, which is trying to capture, by methods of neo-colonialism, the positions which formerly belonged to the old colonial empires.

Mr. Kudryavtsev bases his hope on the fact that the influence of the people of the world in our time — when the correlation of forces in the world arena is in favour of socialism is so strong (as the experience of the Vietnamese events shows) that it can also bring pressure to bear upon the Israeli aggressors, force them to end the aggression and to abide by the decisions of the UN.

"In any case, the liquidation of the Middle-East hotbed of war is no less important a task of the peace-loving countries and nations than the liquidation of the armed aggression in "Vietnam", he concluded.

* * *

A RISE FOR NEARLY EVERYONE

Moscow citizens spent vastly more last year on things for the home than in any previous year in history.

And that's a real increase, of course, for prices of these goods remained the same.

Sales of TV sets and vacuum cleaners were up by a quarter, the statisticians tell us.

And sales of furniture, china and glassware were also up.

Some 200 new shops and department stores opened during the year, mostly in new residential areas.

This year will see a further rise in Soviet living standards: the national plan provides an average rise of 4½ per cent in real incomes.

That average, incidentally, covers student allowances and pensions as well as wages.

Practically every worker will get a pay rise, with rural workers' pay going up even faster than that of workers in industry.

There will likewise be rises in pensions, grants and allowances, and more will be spent on the health service, education, nurseries and kindergartens, etc.

Another 3½ million homes will be built — more than envisaged in the plan — at rents of about 2–3 per cent of the family income.

*

A NATIONAL 'CULTURE BANK'

The Lenin State Library in Moscow has set up a computer centre to meet day-to-day demands for information on the arts, culture and education.

The Library is one of the largest in the world, with 26½ million books and elaborate catalogues and card indexes.

Its computer centre will form part of UASTIS — the Unified Automatic Scientific and Technological Information Service of the USSR.

The Soviet Union, chief librarian Professor Nikolai Sikorsky points out, is well provided with bodies processing scientific and technical data. But hitherto there has never been a central pool of information on the arts. The new centre is intended to fill that gap.

It will compile classified catalogues, publish a monthly digest of Soviet and foreign materials, issue lists of new and forthcoming publications, and publish books under its own imprint.

One now in preparation is a survey of modern western theories of culture.

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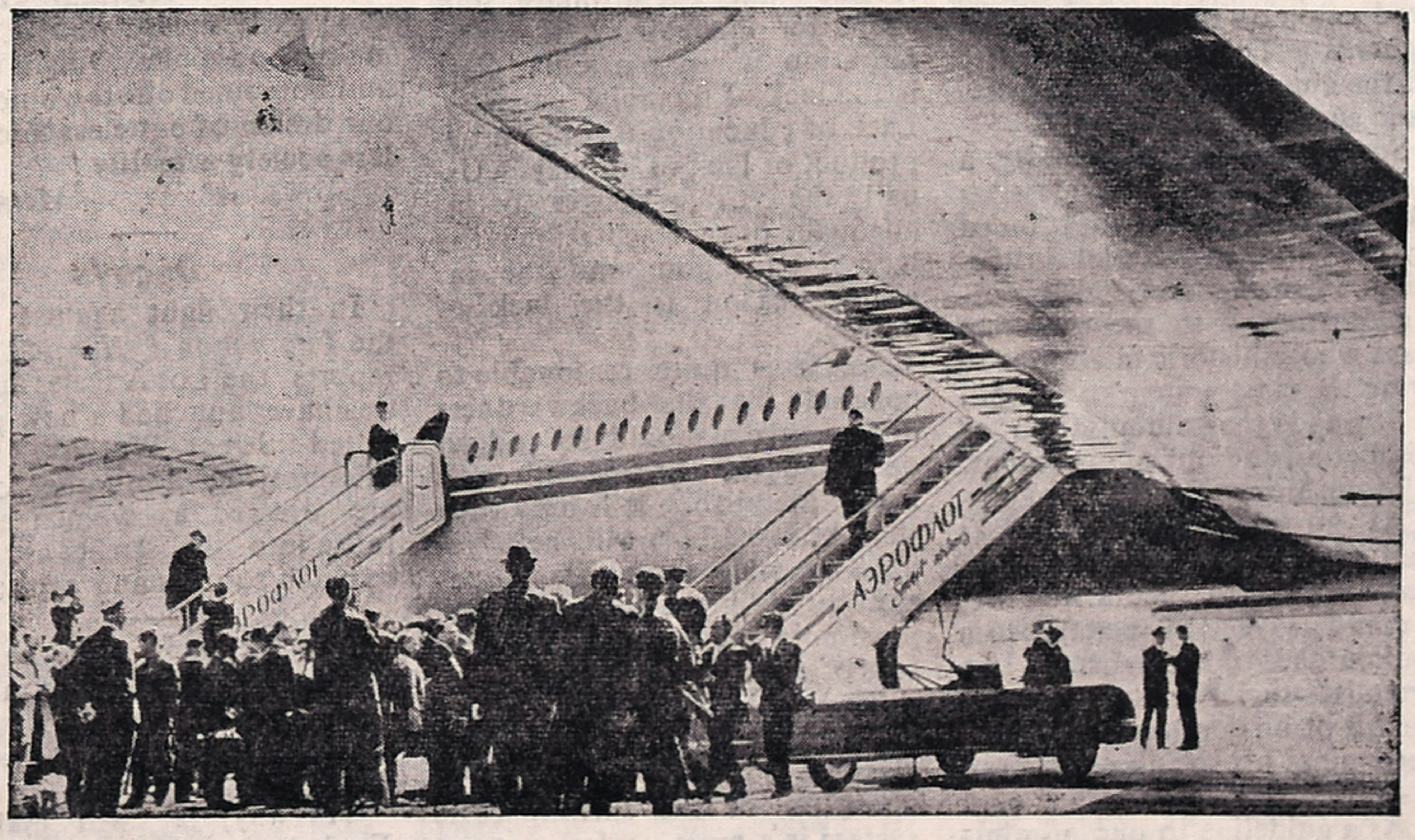


From page 5

Casteism

is nothing but an intoxicant which corrupts the mind of man.

However, it is seen that casteism has found Indian soil as one of the best available fertile grounds for its growth and existence. It has already extended its tentacles to all the socio-politico-economic spheres of Indian life. The pure atmosphere of India, filled with national fervour and the feeling of oneness has already been polluted by this invisible but vicious creature. The one-time healthy body of Indian social life has been corroded little by little by this bloodthirsty "Frankenstein".

In olden days the people of India had divided themselves into different "castes" on the basis of some division of labour and thus "caste system" came into existence. Those belonging to the "upper castes" in this system had always been anxious to preserve this system for ever and to enjoy some special privileges reserved for themselves!

But a critical approach and a systematic analysis of the then prevailing system, reveals that the real classes of people were only two—the exploiting and the exploited. and that the basis of the division was nothing but money or wealth and power (as in any part of the world). All the key positions of the society and the pecuniary advantageous jobs were firmly held by the exploiting class, and the heavy burden of maintaining the progress of the society was conveniently passed on to the exploited class!

The poor, innocent millions, coming under the latter category were given an impression that they were destined to suffer because of divine wrath, and that the "privileged people" were the divinely blessed ones! Some "intelligent" people of the exploiting class spread several stories of miracles and safeguarding their positions for a long time!

In fact, the name of God and everything divine, including the places of worship were very much helpful to them in these attempts. That society permitted even human sacrifices (of course, the victim should inevitably be from the suppressed millions!) to appease the Almighty!

The British yoke shocked and shattered this system to a great extent. The world of labour was very much revolutionised because of the arrival of new scientific and technological developments. The identity between the so called "castes" and the fixed labour relations were broken up. Thus, in new India, where dignity of labour is fully recognised, the occupational status has nothing to do with the still prevailing "casteism".

Is the "caste" of a child, born in Free India, judged by the profession of his mother or father? If not, what else is the criterion? Is it possible for a child here to proclaim that he does not belong to any caste or community but to India? Will he or she be given protection by our Constitution? There are some of the relevant questions in the present context.

In our Constitution also, the word "caste" is used in several articles without clarifying that exactly it means. It is used in the Constitution on the assumption that the word does not require any elucidation. Really at the time of framing of the Indian Constitution, the word need not have been explained because this term was so much familiar to the people at that time.

But now, the word has become absolutely out of date. It is a meaningless phraseology which has got no reasonable basis. It is high time that we should do away with this system as early as possible and that we should develop a feeling of oneness among the masses.

Unfortunately, there are certain factors still prevailing in Free India which are instrumental in creating and maintaining the communal feelings among people. Some of them are even Government sponsored on the pretext of ushering in a socialistic paradise in this country. An analysis of these factors in a realistic background would reveal the hollowness of the claim.

In our country, reservation on the basis of castes is an accepted principle for Government appointments and university admissions. Since the dawn of freedom, we have proclaimed that we resolved to constitute India into a sovereign democratic Republic and to create a socialistic pattern of society. This is the time in which we should think whether communal reservation is compatible with socialistic pattern of society or whether this will help in achieving socialism.

"Socialism is an economic organisation of society in which material means of production are owned by the whole community and operated by organs representative of and responsible to a general economic plan, all members of community being entitled to benefit from the result of such socialised, planned production on the basis of equal rights." This definition gives all the characteristics of a socialistic economy vividly.

Socialism is fundamentally a movement aiming at a classless society based on socialisation of property in the essential instruments of production and appealing primarily to the working class whose historic mission is to bring the class system to an end, It demands the minimisation of conflict arising out of economic relationships.

As an economic doctrine as well as a political movement, it, was designed in such a way that it could save the society from the clutches of capitalism. In a socialist society work and not wealth or birth of an individual determines his social position or his status.

As a guideline to our administrators in their earnest effort to achieve socialism, we have included certain shinning articles in the Constitution. But certain politicians, with hidden motives, gave wrong interpretations to them so as to suit their purpose. Communal reservation is the product of one such interpretation given to Article 16 (4) of the Indian Constitution.

Article 16 (1) and (2) assure that there shall be equality of opportunity for all citizens in matters relating to employment and appointment to any office under the state and that no citizen shall, on grounds only of religion, race caste, sex, descent, place of birth, residence or any of them be ineligible for or discriminated against in respect of employment or office under the state.

Article 16 (4) says; "Nothing in this article shall prevent the state from making any provision for the reservation of appointments or posts in favour of any backward class of citizens which in the opinion of the state is not adequately represented in the services under the state." Communal reservation is introduced in some States under the protection of this sub-clause, interpreting that a group of people categorised under an undefined and ambiguous term "caste" belongs to the "backward class of citizens".

The basic problem involved in this issue is how to measure the "backwardness of citizens". As long as the word "caste" itself remains only an imaginary term, how can the backwardness of a citizen be judged on the basis of such a myth? If a citizen does not want to be categorised under a particular "caste", how can his "backwardness" be measured?

In short, if this principle is accepted, a scientific method to categorise a person into a particular "caste" at the time of his birth, should also be prescribed. So long as this is not possible, the present system of "communal reservation" is purely unreasonable, unscientific and incompatible with progressive ideas.

On the other hand, a deep study of the question of representation in Government service reveals that the ultimate root cause for inadequacy of representation by any particular class is the lack of financial capacity. Lack of education is only a by-product of lack of money. Usually the visible reason for inadequacy of representation is the lack of education, and the in visible reason is the lack of money.

So, it is quite reasonable to conclude that the backwardness of any citizen should be judged on the basis of his wealth and not of his birth. It is only then that Article 16 (4) will help reduce the wide economic disparity between the haves and the have-nots and stimulate the process of attaining socialism.

The ultimate aim under a socialist economy is to create a classless society for which the abolition of the existing caste system is a must. We have got only two classes—the haves and havenots—the exploiting and the exploited. The starting point of socialistic thought has been the condemnation of capitalist exploitation. The uprooting of this system is not so easy. Preaching is easy but practice is the real task.

Even in the educational institutions, students are categorised under different banners of "castes", and every morning great leaders are advising these young boys and girls to get rid of this vicious circle! Similarly, several communal organisations are allowed to function freely in this country and to exploit and corrupt under the banner of "caste". Every second they are polluting the atmosphere with communal feelings Illiterate and innocent masses can any time fall victims to parochialism, linguistic frenzy and communal fanaticism.

The continuance of the present caste system is a stumbling block in the way of an emotionally integrated India. Today, one can meet in India a Sharma or Mishra, a Dikshit or Dikshitar, a Ayyar or Ayyengar, a Gupta or Agarwal, but cannot meet an Indian with a patriotic fervour, with a spirit of sacrifice for the nation. "In the context of society today, the caste system and much that goes with it, are wholly incompatible, reactionary restrictive and barriers to progress. There can be no equality in status and opportunity within its framework, nor can there be political democracy, and much less economic democracy."

Political parties are also not taking genuine interest in ending the caste system in this country because during elections to various Assemblies and to Parliament, they use "casteism" as the main weapon. Even seats are allotted to their candidates on the basis of their "castes", with the "caste" of the candidate becoming the main plank of the election propaganda!

But one thing is certain. Casteism and socialism cannot go together. To achieve a socialistic pattern of society, priority must be given to do away with "caste system". Occasional preachings are not enough, but constant effort to practise what is preached is essential Courage and selflessness alone would make it possible. Only a sincere and combined effort would make our dream of casteless and classless society a reality!

—Mainstream

Decoys

In their fight against crime, the *International Herald Tribune* reports the Los Angeles authorities have launched a new project called "Street Watch". Under this project, a number of cops are dressed as women and let loose into the streets as decoys to catch robbers and rapists.

If you want your child to speak correctly, send him to the pictures, says the Professor of Education at Melbourne University.

Anyway, it will make his English—or his American—more "picturesque."

Lyndon B. Johnson

LYNDON Baines Johnson, the man who rose from school teacher to become the 36th President of the United States, was stricken with a sudden heart attack Monday afternoon at his ranch in Texas. He was rushed to the hospital at San Antonio. He expired before he reached there. He was 64.

LBJ as he was popularly known, was born in Texas, bred in Texas and like everything Texan became big and did things in a big way. He stood six feet three. For 30 full years he strode Capitol Hill like a colossus, first as member of the House of Representatives for 11 years and then as Senator for 12 years. He assumed the Presidency after the assassination of President John F. Kennedy on November 22, 1963. He took the oath of office on board the plane that flew back from the scene of assassination in Dallas to Washington, D. C. In 1964, Johnson was elected President in his own right by a plurality of 16 million votes, the greatest majority ever won by a President.

Mr. Johnson's term in the White House was marked by the "Great Society" programme, the biggest liberal social legislation ever achieved since the first 100 days of Roosevelt's New Deal. He was able to achieve this with his unique mastery of legislative art and the power he exercised over Capitol Hill, which far exceeded that of any former President.

The Great Society domestic legislation—the Civil Rights Act of 1964, 1965, and 1968, Medicare (medical aid for the elderly) aid to education; was on poverty and consumer protection—stemmed from his inner yearnings to improve the quality of life for Americans.

"The legislative accomplishments of the Great Society," said the *National Observer* newspaper on Mr. Johnson's relinquishing the office of the President on January 1969," will stand as a near-singular achievement matched only by the outpouring of the first 100 days of the New Deal." The list of Johnsonian legislation was staggering. In 1969 there were 435 domestic social programmes in the United States as compared with 45 in 1960.

President Johnson's fame in American political history will rest on his dedicated work to translate his dream to improve life for the average American into reality.

A Negro leader said of his Civil Rights programme that all Americans were indebted to President Johnson for his efforts to solve the "grievous" race problems of America.

Mr. Johnson was essentially a man of the people. The people of India have been a witness to this endearing quality of his during his visit here as Vice-President in May 1961. Many were the times he stopped his car, jumped out and shook hands with surprised and delighted gatherings that lined the route of his welcome.

"I'll remember Johnson for his informality more than anything else," said a hard-boiled reporter covering the U.S Vice-President's visit.

"He has a warm heart," said a farmer from Agra. Farmer Chotte Lal, in whose cart the Vice-President took a short ride, said: "The oxen obeyed his call. He can goad these animals as well as any farmer."

Another cried: "Let me have a close darshan of this American. He is our friend. Let me get near him."

The underlying theme of Vice President Johnson's visit to India was, in his own words, 'to evolve a world society where there will be a much better distribution of wealth...We cannot live in a world society where one or two nations are affluent and all others are impoverished. We must evolve ways and means for understanding each other, trusting each other, and working with each other...so that we all can have better health and better minds in better bodies."

It was towards achieving "better understanding among nations" that he initiated a detente with Russia and laid the groundwork for the Non-Proliferation Treaty that banned the spread of nuclear weapons. The treaty was signed on July 1968 during his Presidency.

In the realm of outer space, if it was Kennedy who launched the space era, it was Johnson, who carried it to higher reaches. Though not generally known it was Mr Johnson who first proposed that the exploration of outer space should become a matter for the consideration of the United Nations.

Despite his many achievements at home and abroad, there was a singular tragic failure in his foreign policy. The Vietnam peace eluded him. Despite the bombing he ordered and the negotiations he initiated for talks at Paris, he was unable to settle the Vietnam question. It was a blow to him which made him give up the idea of standing for re-election.

Secretary of State William P. Rogers said of this on hearing of his death:

"We must all be particularly saddened in light of our current negotiations that he did not live to see peace restored in Indo-China."

Newsweek magazine said in its assessment of his leave-taking of the office of President: "History can hardly forget him. Hated or admired, he looked a little larger than most Presidents, a fascinating, complex and awesome man".

President Nixon in a salute to Mr. Johnson and his Presidency said:

"He has been a man who has worked as hard in that office as any person who ever held it.

"He has been a man who was as deeply concerned for bringing peace to his nation and the world as any man in this room.

"He has been a man who has been deeply disappointed because he has not been able to achieve it.

"Whether we agree or disagree — and I happen to disagree with some of his policies—we do not question the fact that he has dedicated his life to public service and in the Presidency has given everything he possibly could to that arduous and tremendous task."

Secretary of State William P. Rogers in his tribute said:

"The country, indeed the world has lost one of the great leaders in contemporary history; a man of the people, a man of extraordinary vision; a man of action; and a man who reflected and gave substance to the pulse of our generation, during a life time of service to the ideals of a greater society."

Born August 27, 1908, in a farm house a few miles from the town that bears his family name, Johnson received his early education in the public schools at Johnson City.

At the age of 22—just three and one-half years after he arrived at the college—Lyndon Johnson received his bachelor of science degree.

He joined the faculty of a Houston high school—where he taught public speaking and debate—after graduation from college. Johnson left this work to become Secretary to Congressman Richard M. Kleberg. In Washington, he found time at night to attend classes at Georgetown University Law School.

Opportunity to return to Texas arose in 1935 when President Franklin D. Roosevelt appointed Johnson State Administrator of the National Youth Administration. Then, in 1937, and after being hailed as one of the outstanding NYA administrators in the nation, Johnson resigned to win over a field of nine other candidates a race for the Congressinal seat.

With the outbreak of World War II, Johnson —as a member of the naval reserve —became the first member of Congress to enter active duty. Gallantry in action while on a flight over enemy position in New Guinea won him the Silver Star.

Election to five successive terms in the House followed. Then, in 1948, Johnson became a successful candidate for the Senate.

He became the youngest man ever elected to Senate leadership office when his Democratic colleagues unanimously named him Minority Leader of the 83rd Congress. He was later unanimously elected Majority Leader of the 84th, 85th, and 86th Congress in which the Democrats had regained the controlling votes.

In addition to carrying his leadership responsibilities, Johnson served as chairman of the Democratic Policy Committee, the Democratic Steering Committee, and the Democratic conference of the Senate. He was chairman of the Senate Aeronautical and Space Sciences Committee, chairman of the Preparedness Investigating Subcommittee, and a member of the Armed Services and Appropriation Committees.

In the 1960 elections, President Kennedy selected Mr. Johnson as his running mate.

Drugs In Corpses

The forgery trial of one Thomas Sutherland in a Federal Court in Baltimore, U.S.A, has produced the sensational disclosure that narcotics have been smuggled into the United States from Southeast Asia concealed on the corpses of U.S. servicemen killed in Vietnam. Sutherland, who on his arrest was wearing military uniform and was carrying the identification papers of a segeant of the U.S. Army although his name was not found in army records, testified that the traffickers had used this method of transporting heroin for eight years. As a rule the coffins were delivered either to the Dover air base in Delaware or the Fort Lewis base, where the shipments were picked up by members of the ring. Although Sutherland turned out to be a civilian there is little doubt that the racket he and his accomplices engaged in was covered up by servicemen.

Blaming The School

An eighteen-year-old San Francisco resident has filed a million-dollar suit against the city's public-school system, claiming that the school he went to for twelve years had not taught him to read and write properly. Although he studied at a proper grade level and had a record of normal attendance, the knowledge he had acquired made him "unqualified for employment other than the most demeaning, unskilled, low-paid manual labour", he said.

Never Satisfied

An American big businessman was heard to remark to an official 'Robots are swell. They don't ask for higher wages or old-age pension and they don't strike." "The trouble is", the official replied, "you can't make them pay taxes!"

From page 3

V.V.S. Aiyar

referring to the remedy suggested by the writer, as in my opinion, the remedy of a spinning wheel, of a firm mentality, in short the basic doctrine of non-violence has no real bearing on the question of the seditious character of the article. I am clearly of the opinion that the writer has not differentiated the Government established by law from its agents in the districts, nor has he singled out any single member of the Government whether imperial or provincial for attack; in its essence the attack of the writer has been against constituted authority as such; and when the "gravamen" of the attack is that for the very purpose of prectising repression military forces and cannon at an expenditure of 63 crores of rupees are kept, the obvious intent of the article, read as a whole, must be taken to be the intent of exciting hatred and positive disaffection towards the Government established by law. I find that the article is seditious within the meaning of Section 124-A, I.P.C.

As already indicated, the writer puts forward the basic doctrine of non-violence as the proper reply to repression. I have read the article with care and I am satisfied that the doctrine of non-violence has been honestly put forward as the reply to be given by the non-co-operators to what has been described as "the dance of repression". The third para closes with the sentences, "we have only the spinning wheel to stand and face them, blowing the conch". The reference to the conch is not an ideal one. It is blown in temples when the idol is taken out; it is also blown in connection with the funeral ceremonies of Hindus. Now it is well-known that the spinning wheel is taken by the non-co-operators as a symbol of what to them is something truly great. In this view of the spinning wheel, the next short para is significant of the intention of the writer: "therefore in the eyes of strangers only, the non-co-operation policy will seem weak; and the difference between the two parties has to be made up only by the firmness of mind." This is what the writer impliedly exhorts the reader to rely upon, i.e., not the strength of the physical force but the strength of the firmness of mind. That this is his true intent is made clear in the last para. The opening sentence is, "Considering all things what is at present needed is only mentality and firmness," and in the latter half of the para is the sentence, "We should accept meekness (non-violence)" as the "mulamanthra" (basic doctrine). The last two sentences of the para are only an appeal, in the language used by the extremists, to H.E. Lord Reading, to satisfy the political aspirations of the Indians.

While I am satisfied that the writer of the article has attempted in unambiguous language to excite hatred and disaffection towards the Government established by law in British India, I am equally satisfied that he has in an unambiguous language attempted to put forward the doctrine of non-violence before his readers.

The next question for consideration is whether the second accused is liable under Section 124-A, I.P.C., The publication of the article in the "Desabhaktan" of the 6th May is proved and admitted, whereas the prosecution has adduced documentary evidence that the 2nd accused was a member of the editorial staff of 3 persons, accused 1, 2 and 3, from 28-2-21 till sometime after the date of the offensive article (vide Ex. D. 1 and 2) and also oral evidence (vide P. W. 6) that the 2nd accused was the moving spirit in the editorial staff. The 2nd accused has claimed in his written statement that he was virtually the only editor about the time the article was published. He has however stated that he was away from Madras between the evening of last May and the morning of 9th May and that in his absence he did not write anything for the "Desabhaktan" nor got anything published in it. Having regard to this allegation and the more specific allegation in the next para of the written statement that the original of the article of the 6th May is now with a certain named individual, read in the light of the annexures to the written statement, the learned Crown Prosecutor was prepared to take it that the article was not written by the accused. The fact remains, however, that the 2nd accused was the editor of the paper and that he does not allege that he at any time disassociated himself from the article, and Ex.-G. shows that he had received his full salary for May. He is therefore clearly and substantially liable as a publisher of the article and I find accordingly. The 2nd accused is convicted of the offence punishable under Sec. 124-A, I.P.C.

There remains the question of sentence. And this I have considered with care, with reference to the conditions that prevailed at or about the time that the offence was committed. Accused 2 has to be punished for his seditious language, but it has to be remembered that he has unequivocally put forward the doctrine of non-violence. On evidence on record, the feelings of hatred and disaffection attempted to be excited by the article are not in my opinion such as were likely to lead to violence as a probable result in the near future. When I use this language, I have kept in my mind the essentially sober mentality of the class o persons who generally read the paper in question. A sentence of 9 months imprisonment will answer the ends of justice. Having regard to the essential nature of the offence and its probable effect, the imprisonment will be simple.

* * *

It was clear from the judgment that Aiyar was being held liable on strictly technical grounds, irrespective of the fact that he had not written the offending editorial; it was also clear that Aiyar's refusal to consider tne editorial offensive and apologise for its publication (as the three others had done) went against him. The attempt of the three others to strike a heroic pose at the beginning and collapse the next day, as they did, was most comic. In contrast, Aiyar's sustained stand earned him the respect of everyone

Aiyar was first taken to the Penitentiary, Madras, but spent the best part of his imprisonment in Bellary Central Jail.

More Next week:

SHORT STORY

THE POET

By LILLI PROMET, Estonian Writer

THE young poet who came from distant parts, bared his head and knelt respectfully on one knee before the old Master standing on the threshold of his hut.

"Great Master, I have come to read you my verses and beg for your opinion," said the youth.

"Very good. But a whole long day lies before us, there are many hours before evening comes. Let us first go for a stroll, there will still be time for reading of verse."

"But where shall we go?" asked the disappointed youth, for there was no sanded path beneath his feet or paved road before his eyes.

"We shall follow the clouds," said the Master carelessly.

They walked through sky-reaching forests, across sandy wastes and broad fields, they walked where cranberries grew on the edge of a pine wood and cloudberries on the hummocks.

"See how many flowers there are," said the Master in delight, and breathed deeply of the scents of earth.

"Where? I do not see a single rose!" the poet marvelled.

At mid-day they passed a house where a woman flung open a window to let in the sunshine, and met a man feeling his way, eyes closed.

"Why does he pretend to be blind?" asked the young poet.

"So as not to see the reality of things," the Master replied.

Then they met a queer fellow who greeted all he met.

"Why do you greet them? They don't even know you," said the young man.

"It doesn't matter if they don't know me, what matters is that I know them," was the reply.

Later in the day they met two travellers, each of whom was bowed down by the burden on his back.

"What are you carrying?" the youth asked.

"Cares."

"And you?"

"Temptations."

As they passed a field the young man wondered to see an old woman picking up scattered grains one by one.

"Crumbs are bread, too." said the woman.

In the afternoon the old Master and the young poet walked for a long time in silence.

"Your thoughts seem far away" the young man said at last.

"I am in the garden of my memories."

"Then there is such a garden, and one can walk in it?" said the youth doubtfully but then exclaimed: "Of course! I remember now, wise people consider it better avoided."

"That is said by those who themselves have no garden of memory."

"But where is yours?"

They had now come to the seashore.

"There!" The Master pointed to infinity and the young man saw a green island in the mist over the sea.

"And what sea is this?"

"The Sea of Time," the Master answered.

Dusk was falling when a shepherd boy ran to them out of the dark forest, trembling with fright.

"I lost my way in that dreadfull forest and suddenly felt so terribly lonely," he said.

"What is loneliness?" asked the poet thoughtfully.

On the way back they saw a little naked siren sitting on a rock weeping, with bright tears into her long hair.

"None can help her, she is mourning her loss," said the Master.

"Mourning—what is that?" asked the young man.

But at the roadside he halted, looking at a man and a woman.

"Why do they torment one another?" he cried,

"Because they are in love," answered the Master.

"And why is that man there in the distance giving everything away? What will he have for himself?

"Joy," the Master answered, smiling.

"Tell me, is there anything in all the world which can astonish you?"

"Probably not," answered the Master with conviction.

When they returned to the hut and the Master lighted a candle and placed bread and a mug of water on the table, the poet remembered what had brought him there.

"Evening has come." he said. "Permit me at last to read you the poems I have written."

"But what could you write about?" cried the Master. And his astonishment was boundless.

World Of Movies & Music

M. M. LOVER

Pramila asks Muthuraman to go out—

Pramila, the new box-office bomb shell, was on bed, with medicines on the bed-side tripod. She looked very sick because of efficient make-up. In a low tone she requested Muthuraman to go out, as she wanted to have a talk with Vairam.

A. C. Trilokchandar directed the scene for Amutham Pictures' "Sontham" which has appealing music by M.S. Viswanathan. Later a close shot of Muthuraman, in a confused state was taken. This shooting took place in Vauhini Studio.

Song taped for "Raakkuyil"—

P. Bhaskaran, the Producer-Director-lyricist penned one of his most beautiful lyrics, for his "Raakkuyil" being produced in Malayalam, under Suchitra—Manjari's banner.

"Oru Hrudaya spanthanam Tannilum, Maarande Mani Veena Naatham" were the meaningful words of the song, sung by K. J Jesudos in Vijaya Gardens. The song w s tuned by music-director Pugazhendi and J. V. Raghavulu assisted him in conducting the song, which was recorded by Swaminathan.

P. Vijayan directs the film starring Sujatha and Sudhir supported by Adoor Bhasi and Bahadoor.

Muthuraman's wedding in A.V.M.—

Continuous flower-shower covered Muthuraman und Junior Padmini, in their wedding scene for E.V.R Pictures "Karaikkal Ammaiyar", the last shot of which was taken by W R Subba Rao under the direction of A. P. Nagarajan.

K. B. Sundarambal, Lakshmi, and Sri Vidya add stellar values to the film, for which the violin wizard, Kunnakkudi Vydyanathan set clas ical tunes. Muthuraman, who came to A.V M. after finishing another earlier shooting, proceeded from A.V.M. Studio to Karpagam Studio, to participate in the shooting of "Marupiravi" under T. R Ramanna's direction.

Muthuraman's present very busy schedules of shootings are solid proof of the triumph of patient waiting by talent He is presently working in not less than a dozen films, keeping his name of promptness, regularity and amicability, which help him in adjusting clashing call-sheets, giving no room for anybody's misunderstanding.

Heavy fine of two chocolates –

Savithri Art Pictures Production No. 1 is progressing under B. V. Prasad's direction. Cameraman Sukhadev shot a sequence for the film at Prasad Studio, wherein Savithri, her son Satishbabu and veteran Relangi participated.

Grandpa Relangi refused to take medicine, as he felt medicines, these days, are mostly adulterated. Savithri complained against his attitude to the domestic Judge Satishbabu, who after pondering over the case, fined Relangi, asking him to pay two Chocolates, one for each pocket.

Savithri and Relangi had a sumptuous laugh at the judgement of the boy-Judge, who immediately after the sessions, ran to Grandpa Relangi and gave a mischievous kiss. Satish proved a worthy son of his actress-mother, giving on Okay take, without any effort, in spite of a lengthy dialogue.

S. P. Kothandapani recorded two songs for the film, already, which were rendered by P. Susheela, the south-Indian nightingale.

Dr. Prabhakarareddy, Krishnam Raju, Allu Ramalingiah and Vijaya Nirmala play the key roles in the film, which is being produced by Venkata Ratnam Babu.

Poet's nite in I.I.T.—

I. I. T.'s staff club and the Telugu Samskritika Samithi arranged a nite of Devulapalli Krishnasastry, the famous Telugu Poet, who enchanced the value and dignity of film-lyrics, with his poetic contributions, right from the days of Malleeswari, directed by B. N Reddy. Palagummy Padma Raju presided over the function, which started at 7 P.M. and continued till 10 P.M.

B fitting tributes were paid to Krishna Sastry's contributions to literature as well as film-field. Padma Raju, Sri Sri, Anisetty Subbarao, Mr. and Mrs. D. Anianeyulu praised D.V.K.'s lyrical contant and individual imagination.

P.B. Sreenivos rendered seven verses in seven Raagaas, composed by him in Aata Veladis, eulogising Devulapalli's poetic explorations. Then Krishna Sastry spoke through the mouthpiece of Padma Raju pouring all his emotions in poised words, regretting his inability to speak by himself, having lost his voice a few years ago.

His written speech was one of the most impressive and comprehensive exposure of the feelings floundering in the depths of a poetic mind. The prose was more musical than a poem, and that was Devulapalli's forte. He expressed how much inevitable compassion is, for making human beings human and humane.

Later S. Rajeswara Rao, P.B. Sreenivos, Chella, Mallick and Prayaga Seetha entertained the audience with their melodious voices, rendering most of Krishna Sastry's film and non-film lyrics, filling the entire atmosphere with poetical serenity and sublimity. The lyrically musi al nite came to a close, when both the atristes and audience joined to sing the national anthem.

Kalpana's wrist watch lost—

On the sets of Arul Films "Kattila Tottila" produced by Arangannal and directed by Malliyam Rajagopal, a sequence was picturised on Kalpana, the super-star of Kannda Screen, and Kathal Mannan Gemini Ganesh. But they play the roles of daughter and father respectively. During the interval between two shots Malliyam, Arangannal, Gemini and Kalbana were sitting and chatting under a tree.

Suddenly one of the assistants came there complaining helplessly that Kalpana's wrist watch which she gave to him to keep in safe custody, was missing. In addition, a jewel was also lost along with its kerchief-container. Kalpana was imperturbable but the assistant's face lost its colour.

After a good amount of exhortation, Director Malliyam Rajagopal returned the watch and jewel with a teasing smile, advising the assistant, to be more careful in future at least, with such costly things. The assistant received them sheepishly, with a loud sigh of relief.

"Kattila Tottila" stars, Kalpana, Gemini Ganesh, Bhanumathi and Sivakumar. Ramesh, an young prodigy has a mini-role given to him. V. Kumar is providing popular musical-score for this Tamil Social.

Dabbu, the Hindi Rickshaw Karan—

R. M. Veerappan's Tamil Rickshaw Karan is now going to speak in Hindi also, in his Hindi version, progressing very fast with regular schedules, at Vahini Studio in different floors.

Randhir Kapoor, who is Dabbu for friends, near and dear, plays the hero opposite Nitu Singh. As I entered the premises of Vauhini, I found Dabbu waiting outside, for his shot. He signed some autograph books brought by his admirers. One of them enquired him, what 'Dabbu' meant. He jocularly remarked 'Dabbu' in Telugu mean "Money".

Inside the floor, a court-scene was being shot, explaining the rea on, for the atmosphere of Lawerys loitering outside, waiting for their turn. Mala Sinha was in the box, answering the piercing questions rained on her by the public-prosecutor Umesh Sharma. She appealed to the Judge, that a prosecutor need not persecute a lady with unkind words and references.

Swaraj is playing the role of the Judge (Magistrate) in the film. Pran, Anwar Hussian, Sujeet Kumar, Prem Kumar. Madhukar and other are in the cast.

K. Sankar directs the movie, which is being photographed by Marcus-Bartley. Music is scored by S.D. Burman.

Kamini Kaushal sings Japanese song—

During the gap in shooting, at A.V.M., Kamini Kaushal was melodiously rendering a Japanese song, as comedian Dinersh Hingu gave Bharat Natyam movements for the song in his own rythm. Jeetendra, Roja Ramani, Kocher Rajnath and other listeners sat amused, tickled by the mischievous movements of Hingu. A spell of magic and hypnotism was cast by Dinesh later, while Directors Murugan and Kumaran observed enthusiastically.

Murugan, with his hat and stick, looked a magician too, and he did justice to his dress by sending Koeher into hypnotic sleep. Roja Ramani, the bud blossiming into a mature artiste, also for sometime entered into trance, in response to Hingu's commanding instructions in a serene voice. It was indeed a jovial gap, as the shot was being readied.

All of this refreshing and envigorating fun was on its wheels till Kamini Raushal playing a mother. gave terrific terrified expresions, when the villains swashed flames of fire at her, and Murugan and Kumaran okayed the shot with full satisfaction. Sri Vidya, the daughter of the famous classical musician M. L Vasantha Kumari, faced the camera later, for another close-up. A few breath-taking fighting scenes were taken, as Jeetendra and Ramesh Deo, clashed with their electric swords.

The film, based on a very successful Kannada Movie, is titled "Jaise Ko Thaisa". It is 'Murugan–Kumaran' combination's maiden directorial vehicle with R. D. Burman's grand music-score.

R.N. Jai Gopal's flowery lyric—

Mohana Sundaram recorded a sweet song, runed by Vijaya Bhaskar with the intoxicating flavour of a mixture of classical Raagaas. The lyric was writtan by R. N. Jai Gopal, who also directs the Kannada film, Komal Productions, "Kesarina Kamala" basides providing powerful dailogues to the story, writ en by Producer T. S. Narasimhan himself.

Hele Gelathi Priya Madhava Baarane Indu" are the lines of Pallavi followed by charanams consisting of flowers of love, devotion, service and smile. It is the third Kannada film, being directed by R. N. Jai Gopal. R. N. K. Prasad cranks the camera.

Starring Naga Raj in dual role as father and son, the film has Kalpana and Surekha in important roles. The song was reudered with impressive expression by S. Janaki of Singaravela fame.

—

LITTLE LAUGHS

That snapshot of me proves that the camera doesn't lie.

"Still, it needn't have been quite so condid."

From page 6

FREEDOM :

into conflict with the interests a section of the community.

PROBLEM OF FREEDOM OF THE PRESS

The crux of the problem of freedom of the press is how freedom of expression can operate within the framework of an industry. No one can publish a newspaper or even a pamphlet without the help of a printing press but freedom of the press cannot be the freedom of the proprietor of the printing press. The printing press gives rise to industrial conditions but this should not make freedom of ex-ptession less free. There has to be constant effort, as Justice Frankfurter said, to ensure the freedom of what is known as the free press.

The conditions in the United States or in Britain are different from the conditions in India. In the United States, industrial barons have not become press barons. There is nothing like a Ford press or a Rockefeller press in the United States, a Nuffield or a Carnegi press in Britain; in India, their counter-parts exists. There are varying degrees of concentration because of in-equalities. The recent contro-versies over freedom of the press as a part of freedom of ex-pression are not over the content of that freedom, which is governed by article 19 (1) and (2), but over the business aspect of the press.

There is a strong denial of monopoly. Monopoly does not mean monopoly in the literal sense; it can be found in its variation, oligopoly, which is concentration of similar vested interests, operating separately in form but jointly in effect. This can lead to effective monopoly and this is present in the news-paper industry.

If certain industrial houses holding dominant positions in their industries have a dominant control over the newspaper in-dustry and its allied activities, there is a monopolistic position which does not permit free and fair competition. Without such competition, the free press is not free.

In countries with written con-stitutions, the Constitution is what the Supreme Court says it is. But in all countries which claim to be democratic freedom depends ultimately on the climate, the political climate and the social climate. Men like Gandhi and Nehru had greater circulation than any newspaper.

Whether it is freedom of speech or freedom of the press or any other part of freedom of expression, it is on the state of economic development, on the level of political consciousness, on the degree or tolerance that the extent of freedom depends. The more it is exercised respon-sibility, the more it will prevail. The citizen of a free country must deserve his freedom. It must be a country of truly free and truly equal citizens.

—*Courtesy*: *AIR*

Mr. Mohan Kumaramangalam, India's Minister of Steel and mines inaugurating the ISCUS function held on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the publication of the Soviet Land.

From page 1

ECONOMI...

the genuinely productive sectors; the consolidation of administra-tive and educational structures manufacturing unproductive workers on a gigantic scale: the pre-dominance of a gentry cul-ture or a mercantile culture thriving on predation of the fruits production rather than on production itself–these were the various forms of parasitism which were passed on as a legacy to independent India from the colonial period. And the dead weight of this legacy even now haunts us and thwarts any pros-pect of a total economic rene-wal. The persistence of disgui-sed landlordism in agriculture, the continuing flow of capital and human resources into the unproductive tertiary sector, the continuing proliferation of the bureaucracy and the vast ex-pansion of higher education without any productive orienta-tion—all these signify that even some of the older forms of para-sitism have been consolidated rather than eroded since inde-pendence.

We must also face the bitter truth that the weight of disgui-sed and more pernicious forms has increased enormously. And India's openness to the cultural and economic influences of the developed world has also streng-thened the parasitic, rather than the productive orientation. The emergence of a flourishing goods sector in a povertystricken society should be treated as a parasitic growth, as pseudo rather than true industrialisation. Similarly, it is not private capi-talism only which is stricken with parasitism. Even the com-plex of public sector enterprises is not free from parasitism; the managerial, administrative and technocratic elites running these enterprises appropriate a large share of the product for unproductive conspicuous con-sumption. One of the most pernicious forms of parasitism, however, seems to be embodied in the political sector which has emerged as the most lucrative field of activity since independence. It represents the withdrawal of a large proportion of the economic surplus from the productive to the unproductive sphere and a massive misutilisa-tion of valuable human resources. The widespread phenomenon of corruption also needs to be identified as social parasitism rather than simple corruption.

Acquisitiveness without a pro-ductive orientation has thus emerged as a major evil since independence. Contact with de-veloped countries reinforces this parasitic trend in many ways. Affluent countries supply new models of conspicuous consump-tion to the new middle class which seeks thereby to legiti-mise its higher status. Further, in the West the Puritan bour-geois has now succumbed to an orgy of materialism. The pursuit of wealth has been stripped of its original religious and ethical meaning. It has been reduced to naked money-making. For countries like India this 'end of ideology' only feeds the greed for conspicuous consumption among the elite, without concern for the longterm needs of pro-duction or of the producing classes.

Parasitism not only retards economic growth by reducing the economic surplus or by misallocating into unproductive channels. It hampers growth also by bringing discredit to the idea of economic development itself. In an environment where parasitism rather than productive orientation gives quicker results, productive values and skills and the discipline and culture of genuine industrial life do not strike roots easily. The craze for 'getting rich quick' through whatever means and methods stands in the way of required re-education of society in the creative ways and norms of the industrial life. The growth of pseudo–modern rather than truly modern industrial classes thus gives birth to a pseudo-modern culture, the culture of a parasitic society.

Parasitism also promotes alienation of the affluence-crazy elite from the poverty-stricken masses. And alienation un-dermines social discipline by ero-ding the moral basis of the authority of the elite over the masses. There can be thus no mobilisation of the country for sustained economic development without a serious mobilisation against parasitism at all levels.

It is a paradox that parasitism should have such sway in a country which threw up one of the greatest exponents of anti-parasitism in Asia in the person of Mahatma Gandhi. This failure of an anti-parasitic ideo-logy to strike roots only shows the deep roots of parasitism in Indian society. There can be no diffusion of productive values if the economic, administrative, political, educational and caste systems supporting parasitic ways of life are allowed to con-tinue. A change in values therefore is closely related to a change in institutions.

Thus land reforms, socialisa-tion of trade and credit, the curbing of the luxury goods sector, reorganisation of education and administration, and above all the drastic purging of the political sector—all these institutional reforms are nece-ssary measures for attacking para-sitism at its roots. There is noth-ing socialistic about these mea-sures; they are necessary for re-directing human energies and material resources into produc-tive rather than unproductive channels. These reforms would, however, not give the desired results if they are not supported by a cultural awakening investing production with a new meaning and producing classes with a new status.

It is only grasping the princi-ples of anti-parasitism that India can hope to overcome its econo-mic lag, make a genuine break with the past and enter the modern age.

"So long, old man; I'm just off to the wilds of Africa."

"Oh, that's fine! Drop us a lion now and then."

from Second Cover

ship and diversified co-operation between the great peoples of the Soviet Union and India. The greetings exchanged by Soviet and Indian leaders on the occasion of jubilees, the regular consultations held at governmental levels on matters of mutual interest, the exchange of trade protocols in 1972, the conclusion of the agreement on setting up a joint inter governmental Commission of Economic, Scientific and Technical Cooperation and the new agreement on broader scientific contacts, etc, —all these testify to the desire, striving and expand their reciprocal cooperation for their common good. The last year has demonstrated that the Soviet-Indian Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Co-operation, signed in August 1971, has not only provided a solid foundation for the further development and strengthening of friendly relations between the two great countries of the world but has also become an effective instrument for ensuring peace in Asia and elsewhere.

It is also characteristic of our relations that important events in the life of our peoples are taken as something near and dear to the hearts of Soviet and Indian peoples.

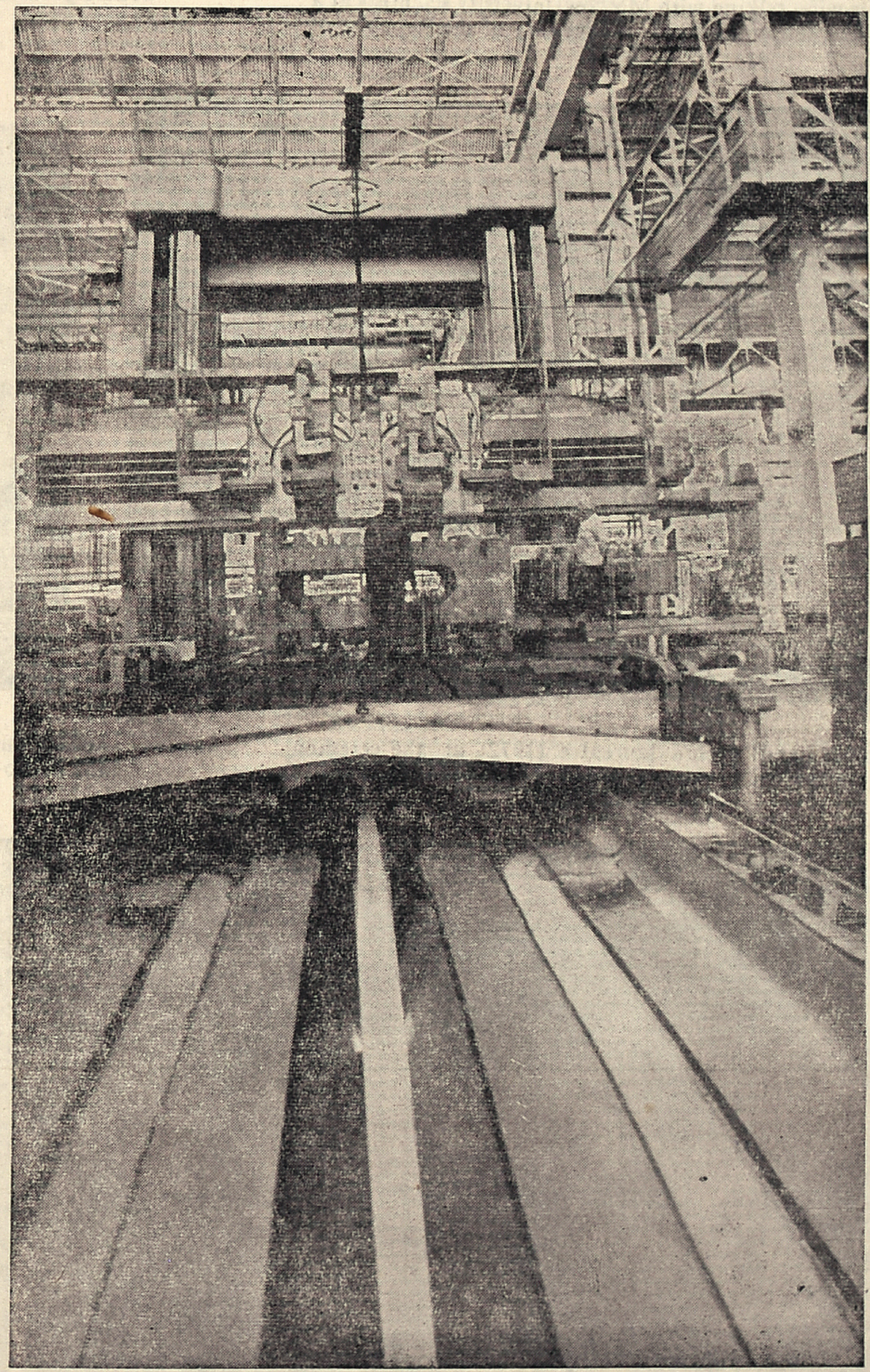
Soviet machinery in India generates electricity plants set up with Soviet assistance produce, steel Soviet agricultural machinery operate on Indian fields. The people of the USSR enjoy aromatic Indian tea and tasteful mango juice, wear good Indian shoes, smoke delightful cigarettes, lay out underground electrical cables made in India, and receive surgical instruments, fitter's tools and garage equipment from India.

The Indian people take great interest in the experience of Socialist transformation carried out in the USSR; they want to study this experience; learn the Russian language and become better acquainted with the multi-national culture.

Prime Minister Indira Gandhi has said that these is no other country inIndia's history and culture studied on such a vast scale as in the USSR. The desire to get to know each other better, to share common joy and to come to each other's assistance in difficulty are the distinctive features of our friendship which is called—and rightly the friendship of 800 millions.

(More Pictures on Last Cover & Page 12.)

Mr. V. E. Dymshits, Vice-Chairman of Council of Ministers of USSR, speaking at Soviet Land Round Table devoted to the 25th anniversary of the establiehment of diplomatic relations between the Soviet Union and India.



A shop of the Heavy Machine-Building Plant in Ranchi.

Dr. K. S. Shelvankar, Ambassador of India to the USSR and his wife, talking with MoscowUniversity scientists at a party devoted to the 22nd anniversary of the Republic of India.

Indian Film stars, Nargis and Simmi, with their Soviet counterparts at the Tashkent Film Festival. (1972).

"Soviet Land" Nehru laureates (1972) at the ceremony where they receive prizes from Vice-President G. S. Pathak

Indian and Soviet students sharing their impressions ab the photo-exhibition held in the Palace of Culture of "Metro" workers in Moscow.

Mr.Raj Bahadur, India's Minister of Parliamentary Affairs, Shipping and Transport, laid a wreath at the Lenin Mausoleum, Moscow.

Mr L. N. Mishra, India's Minister of Foreign Trade and N. S. Patolichev, Minister of Foreign Trade of the USSR, after signing the trade protocols (May 1972).

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